

## Message Text

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TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF CSCE RESULTS

1. PRESIDENT FORD WILL ATTEND STAGE III OF THE  
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE IN  
HELSINKI, FINLAND FROM JULY 30 TO AUGUST 1, AND  
WILL SIGN THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE, TOGETHER  
WITH HIGH OFFICIALS FROM THE OTHER 34 PARTICIPATING  
STATES. PRESS REPORTING AND COMMENTARY ON THE CON-  
FERENCE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE HAS BEEN CONFUSED AND  
MISLEADING IN SEVERAL RESPECTS. THE FOLLOWING TALKING  
POINTS MAY BE USED IN EXPLAINING CSCE TO GOVERNMENT  
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OFFICIALS, OPINION LEADERS, AND PRESS AS APPROPRIATE.

2. BACKGROUND:

-- THE USSR AND ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES BEGINNING IN 1954 ADVOCATED AN "ALL-EUROPEAN" CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION, OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO SERVE AS A SUBSTITUTE WORLD WAR II PEACE CONFERENCE.

--WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE IN THE LATE 1960'S, THE NATO ALLIES INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SUCH A CONFERENCE PROVIDED CERTAIN CONDITIONS WERE MET. THESE INCLUDED: A) PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN ADDITION TO ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, B) PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION IN BERLIN, SO AS TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF BERLINERS AND TO REMOVE BERLIN AS A SOURCE OF PERENNIAL EAST/WEST CRISIS; C) MOVEMENT TOWARD CONVENING MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION TALKS IN VIENNA AIMED AT REDUCING THE LEVEL OF ARMED CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE, AND D) INCLUSION ON THE CSCE AGENDA OF WESTERN-INSPIRED ISSUES SUCH AS FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS, AND INFORMATION AND MILITARY-CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES.

-- ALL OF THESE CONDITIONS WERE EVENTUALLY MET, AND THE CSCE BEGAN WITH A MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, CALLED STAGE I OF THE CONFERENCE, IN HELSINKI, FINLAND, ON JULY 3-7, 1973. THEY ADOPTED AN AGENDA AND NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES WORKED OUT IN PAINSTAKING PREPARATORY TALKS.

-- THE STAGE II WORKING PHASE OF CSCE TOOK PLACE IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND FROM SEPTEMBER 1973 TO JULY 1975. DELEGATIONS LED BY SENIOR OFFICIALS NEGOTIATED--ENTIRELY BY CONSENSUS--TO PRODUCE A DOCUMENT OF OVER 100 PAGES COVERING FOUR BROAD AGENDA AREAS, WHICH IN CONFERENCE PARLANCE WERE CALLED "BASKETS."

-- AT THE STAGE III SUMMIT MEETING IN HELSINKI,  
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HEADS OF GOVERNMENT (OR IN THE CASE OF THE EASTERN EUROPEANS, COMMUNIST PARTY HEADS) WILL SIGN THE FINAL DOCUMENT AND GIVE SPEECHES SETTING OUT THEIR VIEWS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CSCE AND THE FUTURE OF DETENTE.

-- THE CSCE DOCUMENT WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE SIX OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF THE CONFERENCE--ENGLISH, FRENCH,

RUSSIAN, GERMAN, SPANISH, AND ITALIAN--AND WILL BE CIRCULATED TO ALL UN MEMBERS BUT NOT REPEAT NOT REGISTERED UNDER ARTICLE 102 OF THE UN CHARTER.

-- THE 35 PARTICIPANTS CONSIST OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA AND ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, INCLUDING MALTA, MONACO, LIECHTENSTEIN, SAN MARINO, AND THE HOLY SEE. ONLY ALBANIA REFUSED TO ATTEND.

3. THE DOCUMENT: THE CSCE RESULT IS NOT A TREATY OR A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT. AS A POLITICAL STATEMENT OF INTENT SIGNED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, IT WILL HOWEVER CARRY CONSIDERABLE MORAL AND POLITICAL WEIGHT.

-- BASKET 1 DEFINES TEN PRINCIPLES OF INTERSTATE RELATIONS: RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, NON-USE OF FORCE, INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS BY FORCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION, COOPERATION, AND FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. BASKET 1 ALSO CONTAINS MODEST MILITARY SECURITY MEASURES CALLING FOR PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF AND INVITATION OF OBSERVERS TO LARGE-SCALE MANEUVERS.

-- BASKET 2 SPELLS OUT MODALITIES FOR ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC/TECHNICAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION.

-- BASKET 3 COVERS FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS, AND INFORMATION THROUGH TEXTS ON SUCH MATTERS AS FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND VISITS, BINATIONAL MARRIAGES, ACCESS TO PRINTED, BROADCAST, AND FILMED INFORMATION, IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, AND INCREASED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION.

-- BASKET 4 PROVIDES FOR POST-CSCE FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING A MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS IN BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, IN 1977, TO REVIEW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE PROVISIONS AND TO DECIDE ON FURTHER ACTIVITIES.

-- IN ADDITION THERE IS A SEPARATE TEXT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE:

-- THE FACT THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE, AND

PRODUCED AGREEMENT ON DETAILED PROVISIONS EMPHASIZING COOPERATION IN PLACE OF CONFRONTATION, IS A SIGNIFICANT EVENT.

-- BUT IT IS ONLY ONE STEP IN THE DETENTE PROCESS, NOT AN END IN ITSELF, AND ITS SUCCESS WILL BE JUDGED BY HOW ITS PROVISIONS ARE IMPLEMENTED IN THE FUTURE.

-- PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE BASKET 3 FREER MOVEMENT TEXTS, CSCE SETS AGREED STANDARDS BY WHICH THE WEST CAN JUDGE THE COMMITMENT OF THE EAST TO GENUINE DETENTE.

-- MANY PRESS REPORTS HAVE ASSUMED THAT BECAUSE THE SUMMIT CONCLUSION SO LONG DESIRED BY THE SOVIET UNION IS FINALLY TAKING PLACE, CSCE MUST BE FULFILLING THE ORIGINAL SOVIET GOAL OF LEGITIMIZING THE STATUS QUO OF SOVIET DOMINATION OF EASTERN EUROPE. THIS IS NOT THE CASE, IN OUR VIEW, FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

A) WHILE THE PRINCIPLES INCLUDE THE SOVIET-BACKED STATEMENT THAT FRONTIERS MAY NOT BE VIOLATED BY FORCE, THEY ALSO REAFFIRM THAT BORDERS MAY BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. NOTHING IN THE DOCUMENT CONSTITUTES RECOGNITION OF ANY PARTICULAR BORDER OR TERRITORY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TORIAL CHANGE.

B) THE PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND NON-USE OF FORCE, WHICH ARE ELABORATED IN BASKET 1, ARE COMPLETELY INCONSISTENT WITH THE SO-CALLED BREZHNEV-DOCTRINE OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY, WHICH WAS USED TO JUSTIFY THE SUPPRESSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968.

C) THE BASKET 3 PROVISIONS FOR FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS, AND INFORMATION INTRODUCE HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS INTO THE DETENTE DIALOGUE AND HOLD THE PROMISE OF IMPROVING THE STATUS QUO IN EASTERN EUROPE IN TERMS OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF COMMON PEOPLE.

-- ANOTHER POPULAR MISCONCEPTION IS THAT CSCE IS ANOTHER CASE OF SUPPOSED "GREAT POWER HEGEMONY." ON THE CONTRARY, THE CONSENSUS PROCEDURE OF CSCE SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED THE FEELING OF INDEPENDENCE AND IMPORTANCE AMONG THE SMALLER STATES OF EUROPE--WESTERN, EASTERN AND NEUTRAL. SUCH NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED

STATES AS FINLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND AND YUGOSLAVIA TOOK A VERY ACTIVE ROLE IN CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS, TO THEIR OBVIOUS SATISFACTION. THE SMALLER PARTICIPANTS WERE AMONG THE MOST VOCAL SUPPORTERS OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS, WHICH WILL GIVE THEM A CONTINUING VOICE IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NATO ALLIANCE WAS REINFORCED BY THE CLOSE COOPERATION AND COORDINATION PRACTICED BY THE "NATO CAUCUS" AT THE CONFERENCE.

-- THE POSITIVE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF CSCE DOES NOT REDUCE THE NEED FOR STRONG NATO DEFENSE EFFORTS, SINCE THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN ITS ARMED FORCES FAR IN EXCESS OF ITS APPARENT REQUIREMENTS FOR SELF-DEFENSE. WE LOOK TO THE MBFR AND SALT NEGOTIATIONS, NOT CSCE, FOR PROGRESS IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF ARMED CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE.

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-- WHILE ENLARGING THE AREA OF MUTUALLY-BENEFICIAL COOPERATION AND THE REASONABLE DISCUSSION OF EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES WHEREVER POSSIBLE, WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT INTENDS TO CONTINUE THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BY ALL MEANS SHORT OF WAR. THUS, WHILE CSCE HAS MADE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION IN CIVILIZING THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE AND BRINGING NEW SUBJECTS INTO THE REALM OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION, BASIC SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES REMAIN.

5. COPIES OF THE CSCE DOCUMENT WILL BE MAILED TO ALL POSTS WHEN AVAILABLE. INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

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